1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

643
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QUEEN CHARLOTTE OF TONGA

[introductory p. i]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The area of Tongatabu, however, probably does not exceed 150 square miles, which on the basis of full-blooded Tongan population, in 1921, gives the average of 65 individuals to the square mile, a number probably sufficient for communication in the traditional way, if the bulk of the population fringed the ancient highway which ran from end to end of the island. It should be borne in mind that the ancient population lived largely on farms rather than in villages. Ancient burials are to-day found in the bush where farms once flourished.

Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 297) mentions an assemblage at an entertainment on Tongatabu Island, concerning which "some of us computed, that, at this time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people, in our neighborhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity." Providing the total is not overestimated, this statement would seem at first glance to indicate a larger population for Tongatabu Island than that of the present day. But many people from neighboring islands of Tongatabu and from Haapai and Vavau were doubtless present. In reference to the population of the islands near Tongatabu in 1797 the following quotation from Wilson (65, p. 95) is pertinent: "Passing to the northward of Eoo-āije, we steered W.S.W. to the entrance, then W. by S. and W. up the harbour, followed by the above canoe and several others, which put off from the eastern part of the main island and the islets that lie scattered upon the reef."

The statement of Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 246) that "at least three thousand people" assembled at the entertainments on Lifuka Island indicates a population in 1777 no greater than in 1909 when Lifuka and the neighboring islands Foa and Haano had a population of 3,565. With the rest of Haapai to draw upon as well, a crowd of three thousand people might be assembled readily enough. Cook's description of the island of Mango suggests that the population in 1777 did not much exceed the population of 42 individuals in 1906 and it is of interest to note that he found Uoleva Island, just south of Lifuka, as destitute of inhabitants as it is to-day.

The grouping of people in villages and the consequent desertion of farms as residences has taken place probably since 1773, when Cook (18, vol. 1, p. 213) described the country as follows:

> The produce and cultivation of this isle [Eua] is the same as at Amsterdam [Tongatabu]; with this difference, that a part only of the former is cultivated, whereas the whole of the latter is. The lanes or roads necessary for travelling, are laid out in so judicious a manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no towns or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires; they are neatly constructed, but do not exceed those in the other isles. The materials of which they are built, are the same; and some little variation in the disposition of the framing is all the difference in their construction. The floor is a little raised, and covered with thick strong mats; the same sort of matting serves to inclose them on

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 71

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy perfumes the very air in which they breathe.

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words:

> We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and, yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island.

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua (the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows:

> As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

> In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it.
>
> We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . .
>
> We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

who follow this profession are sailors: their mode of catching fish is chiefly with the net, though they sometimes make use of the line and hook.

LANGA FALLE, house-building. Every man knows how to build a house, but those whose business it is have chiefly to erect large houses on *maláis*, consecrated houses, and dwellings for chiefs. The general form of their houses is oblong, rather approaching to an oval, the two ends being closed, and the front and back open; the sloping thatched roof descending to within about four feet of the ground, which is generally supported by four posts; the larger houses by six, or sometimes more. The chief art in building a house consists in fastening the beams, &c. strongly, with plait of different colours, made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, in such a way as to look very ornamental; the colours, which are black, red, and yellow, being tastefully disposed. The thatch of the superior houses is made of the dried leaves of the sugar-cane, and which will last seven or eight years without requiring repair. The thatch of the common houses is made of matting formed of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and which lasts about two or three years; but being much easier to make than the other, it is more frequently used. The flooring is thus made: the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

342 ground, being raised about a foot, is beaten
352 down hard, and covered with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, dried grass, or leaves of the ifi tree: over this is laid a bleached matting, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.
342 The house consists, as it were, but of one
353 apartment, but which is subdivided occasionally by screens about six or eight feet high. In case of rain, or at night, if the weather is cool, they let down a sort of blind, which is attached to the eaves of the open sides of the house: these blinds are made of long mats, about six inches in width, one above another, and rather overlapping, and are so contrived as to draw up by means of strings, like our Venetian blinds, and are then concealed just within the eaves. The common houses have not these blinds, but, in place of them, a few mats hung up as occasion may require.

304 Ta tattów, striking the tattow. This
305 operation has already been described in the last
643 chapter, and nothing farther is here to be said,
648 except that Tooitonga is never tattowed at the Tonga islands; for it is not considered respectful to put so high a chief to so much pain, and if, therefore, he wishes to undergo this operation, he must visit Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands), for that purpose.

322 Tongi aco'w, club carving or engraving.
531

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

have been transplanted, in order to give them a finer and softer texture. 285 [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the *fow* or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage them: they appear as if they were made of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed that it must have been procured from some horses that Cook had left there. 285 237 [292] [177]

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house. 285 513

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the *fa*; they are very strong and light. 285 [301]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. [352]

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather. [353]

Cato, baskets: these are of various constructions; sometimes of a sort of matting made with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk [415] [531]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 516 526 423 571 **420. Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.

This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 352 484 **421. Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.

The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 829 571 **422. Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's home.

This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. Kama noa he mea ae api kehe: To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 312 [177] [178] [821] **424. Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern which is filled only by the rain.

The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified, of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 261 515 **425. Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside cook-house.

One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 372 261 **426. Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER IX.

A Day and Night at Tongataboo.

Mulkaamair's house.—His family.—Bed-time.—Night.—Breakfasting on Kava.—Subjection of the lower classes.—Day as passed by the chiefs.—Evening's amusements.—Dances.—Dress and ornaments.—Musick and songs.—Superiority of the lower classes in Britain.

The house of Mulkaamair, with whom I resided, was very spacious; its length was fifty feet. It was of an oval form. One large and lofty post was fixed in the centre; and round it, in an oval circle, were placed less posts, at equal distances, which formed the sides of the habitation. Upon these posts layers were fixed, to which rafters were fastened, that extended to the pillar in the middle, and united the whole building with it. The inside of the roof was ornamented with warm beautiful matting, which was sheltered on the outside with a skilful intertexture of the branches of the plantain tree. In rainy weather, screens of matting, called Takkabou, made of branches of the cocoa-nut-tree, were fastened to the side posts, which almost reached the

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space, separated from the rest by inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.

When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

memory, and he glanced at Tukuaho in a very peculiar way.

Soon after this Tukuaho was relieved of his command, and made mayor of his father's town, Mua, some twelve miles from the capital. He had occasion to see the Premier upon matters connected with his duties. The great man was busily writing in his office. After waiting many minutes Tukuaho rose to go, saying that he saw the Premier was engaged. "Sit where you are," replied Mr Baker, "until I am ready,"—and he wrote on as if the safety of the nation depended on his pen. At last he stopped writing, and swung round in his chair. Tukuaho had heard from others of this mode of inspiring awe, and was in nowise disconcerted; he returned the First Minister's fixed gaze. "We are alone: tell me what cause for ill-will you have against me." Tukuaho raised his eyebrows with a mild surprise, and intimated that he did not understand the question, but had come to ask when he was to distribute tax-allotments in Mua. "You know well enough what I mean. Why did you betray me?" said the Premier, coming to the point. "I have much love for you," answered Tukuaho, "and I want you to tell me about Fifita's allotment." From that day Tukuaho was a marked man, but one to be conciliated rather than threatened.

I found him in his new house still unfinished. A *ngatu* screen was suspended across the room, behind which a mosquito-net was visible. A lamp stood upon a trade box, and the corner of the room was piled high with official-looking papers and torn envelopes in hopeless confusion. I made a mental note of an admonition to be

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

of bread, nor forge a bolt, nor splice a strap. Their thirst is not for knowledge, but for showy accomplishments: their genius is frothy and ephemeral. This moral untidiness pervades everything. In the king's palace there is a throne-room furnished like an Australian parlour, with Kidderminster carpet, ormolu ornaments under glass shades, and crewel-work mats on the tables,—the whole in unimaginable order,—while in a bare room on the ground-floor the king sleeps on his mat spread on the boards, and eats his yams from a single plate. A Cabinet Minister may be seen sitting on the floor of his well-furnished office eating his mid-day meal from a large dish with his fingers. The Minister of Police bustles about his work, delighted with the new routine he imperfectly understands. "It is excellent," he says with enthusiasm only he cannot say how many officials draw pay in his department, nor can the Premier as Minister of Education. The latter thinks that they are paid in proportion to the number of their pupils, but he does not know for certain. Shrewd old Sateki, the Auditor-General, alone is not enthusiastic. He dares to think that some day his work will be plain to him, but at present his mind is darkened. He is a really dependable subordinate this Sateki, but I can see that he sighs for the day when he received his orders, right or wrong, and had only to carry them out without the responsibility of deciding anything for himself.

He was the only official besides Tukuaho who attended his office every day. The pay of the Civil servants was fixed on the supposition that they should have time for the cultivation of their food-gardens. The clerks had to attend

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens, whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straightway one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass. Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were, upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff. On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone maintained the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass decanters, china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees, ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the furniture and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion; while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor, ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-glass decanter. But now even those glories have departed, and the house is empty except when the king pays a flying visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores, built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

band played our national anthem very creditably as we approached. While the rank and file numbered about thirty, as in my time, I noticed that the roll of officers had increased until they formed a third line nearly as close as that of the men: their uniforms were so spotless and correct that some of my companions mistook them for Europeans. We were ushered into the throne-room, where two rows of chairs were drawn up facing one another, each with a be-crowned armchair in the centre. On these, after the first greetings, we took our seats. I knew the room well, and it called up many memories, for here old King George had often received me informally, and all the state functions and receptions of foreign officials, which the old king disliked so heartily and underwent so cheerfully, had taken place. At an earlier date, when Mr. Baker had sought protection in the palace with his family, it had been Mrs. Baker's parlour, and from that epoch dated the fairy lights, wax flowers, and other incongruities. The faces of the king's suite were all familiar, for they had been my own colleagues when I was a Tongan like themselves. There was Fatafehi in his sober suit of black; Kubu, now swelled to the dignity of a sovereign's father-in-

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

carried in piecemeal or the palace built round it. 344
It belonged to the period when the Germans [648]
acquired their coaling-station and Mr. Baker was
decorated with the Red Eagle of Prussia. There
are four large rooms on the upper floor, three of
them furnished in European style, and the fourth
used as a lumber-room for the toys and litter
which Polynesian chiefs buy so readily and tire
of so quickly. We found Her Majesty in the 644
best bedroom, which is furnished with a four-post [352]
bed and Brussels carpet. Everything was im-
maculately clean, and there was nothing to show
that the room did not belong to an European
lady. The queen wore a pink silk wrapper, and [291]
was sitting in a low chair with her brown baby
on her knee. Her illness, which at one time had
caused great anxiety, accounted for her pallor
and her delicate appearance. Though she is not [576]
handsome, her slenderness and her delicacy of
feature give her a certain air of distinction, and,
like all Tongan women of good family, she has
pretty manners. Having made my christening [648]
present and kissed the baby, I took my leave.
During the queen's iliness Dr. Maclennan had 644
a busy time, for, though the king has an implicit 757
belief in European treatment, the old ladies 759
about the court insist upon administering nos-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 sorry resistance to strong winds or heavy rains.
[824] On the other hand, there is capital ventilation; and
[354] perhaps that is of greater importance in such a hot climate, than even freedom from the more occasional annoyances attendant upon stormy weather. To compensate for the lowness of the walls, the roof of a Tonguese house is carried to a consider-
[824] able height. The rafters are closely set, and are generally made of the outer wood of the cocoa-nut tree, or of the bread-fruit tree, the latter of which has much the appearance of cedar wood, and has a very pleasing and beautiful effect when nicely
[335] finished. The large beams, to which the rafters are attached, are laid along the grooved tops of high and durable posts, which reach about half way up the entire height of roof. The inner ridge pole is
[353] usually ornamented by a profusion of sinnet wrappings of varied colours and geometrically inter-
[824] laced. The roof itself is covered with a thick thatch, made from the leaves of the sugar-cane or of the bamboo, and is perfectly water-tight. A well-built house will last a good many years; but the thatching requires to be renewed, under the most favourable circumstances, about once in five years. The
[352] floor is laid with a profusion of dried leaves, which
[824] are in turn covered over with numbers of mats made from the cocoa-nut leaf, upon which again the finer sitting and sleeping mats are placed. No provision is made in the interior of either native or European house for cooking conveniences. A
[354] separate building contains the kitchen requisites, and the heat of the climate renders a fire-place in the dwelling house unnecessary. What is wanting in the architectural beauty of these houses is amply remedied by the loveliness of the natural bowers,

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Eyes sparkling with pride, each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tapa cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer.

[648]

'Oku **mahino mei he fofonga malimali** 'o e kau fefine ni 'a 'enau takitaha laukau'aki 'a 'ene konga ngatu. Ko e kau fefine 'eni mei he kautaha fakamea'a fetokoni'aki 'i Foa, Ha'apai. Na'e kamata e kautaha ni 'e ha toko taha ngaue 'ofa mei 'Amelika (Peace Corps).

Mat weaving is a very important part of life in Tonga today. In addition to being used everyday for floor covering and bedding, mats are also traditionally presented on all special occasions (e.g. weddings, births, funerals). Most weaving materials come from a variety of species of the pandanus plant. In the photo at right, Halamahi Tu'imana skillfully weaves an edging into her newly-woven *lotaha* (single thickness) mat in Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

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'Oku **kei fai lahi e lalanga** 'i Tonga he ngaahi 'aho ni. 'Oku ngaue'aki foki e fala ke faliki 'aki ha fale, pea hoko foki ko e **me'a'ofa** 'i he taimi 'oku fai ai ha mali, fa'ele pe ko ha putu. Ko e ngaahi lou'akau kehekehe 'oku fai 'aki e lalanga. 'Oku ha 'i he ta 'i to'omata'u 'a Halamahi Tu'imana 'oku fai 'ene lalanga lotaha 'i Ha'atu'a, 'Eua.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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At the very heart of Tongan life is the family unit, and it is that which keeps Tonga strong: her loyalty within herself, her spirit of closeness, and the bonds of unity among her people. The family and friends of Dr. and Mrs. Poesi Fanua, shown here in Nuku'alofa, bespeak of that vital force which embraces persons of every age.

Ko e ma'a mahu'inga 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e mo'ui fakafamili. Ko e ta eni 'o e famili, kainga mo e ngaahi maheni 'o Tokata Poesi Fanua mo hono hoa ko Tupou.

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45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour.

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* (big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili* will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork, and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-6., Beaglehole 1941: 91-93., Koch 1955: 75-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

by the island on the NE and small isles and shoals to the SW and SE. In the meantime the Ships were got under sail and worked up to the island; when the Master returned he reported that he had Sounded between great and little Anamocka, where he found 10 & 12 fathoms, the bottom Coral Sand, that the place was very well sheltered from all winds but that there was no fresh Water but what was some distance in land, but little of it and that little not good. For this reason only I determined to anchor at the old place on the north side of the island, but though we were not above a league from it [it] was 5 oclock in the after noon before we got to an Anchor. A considerable Number of Canoes being continually about the Ships, retarded them considerably. There were amongst them some double ones with a large sail that sailed round us apparently with the same ease as if we had been at anchor. I came to an anchor in the very same place as I did when last here, viz, in 18 fathom Water, the bottom Coarse Coral sand; the island extending from E to SW and
Fri. 8 the West point of the Westermost Cove SE about ¾ of a mile dist[t].[1] The next morning while preparation were making for Watering, I went ashore accompaned by Captain Clerke and some of the officers, to fix on a place to set up the observatories and to keep a guard, leave being soon obtained of the Natives who accomodated us with a boat house and shewed us every other Mark of civility. *Toobow* the Cheif of the island[2] took me and Omai to his house, situated in a pleasent spot in the midst of his plantation, a fine grass plat lay round the [door?] which he gave us to understand was to clean their feet upon, a mark of cleanness I had no where observed in this sea before, but afterwards found it was very common at these islands. The floor of the house was laid with Mats and no carpet could be kept cleaner. While we were a shore we bartered for a few hogs and some fruit, and before we got on board the Ships were filled with the natives and as few came empty we found no want of anything.[3] In the after noon I

[1] On this anchorage cf. II, p. 451. 'Westermost Cove' here seems to bear out the correction suggested in n. 1 on that page.

[2] Presumably, but not clearly, Tupoulangi already mentioned. 'The Chief of Anamooka whose title is Agee, was named Tubow, a middle aged man, more modest and sedate than we found the generality of these people. Another chief of some consequence was named Kaper; this man was remarkable for making long orations to his countrymen.'—Burney journal, 2 May. 'Agee', *'aiki* (cf. Tahitian *ari'i*, Maori etc. *ariki*). 'Kaper', Cook's Tapah', or Kepa.

[3] 'Kept all kind of Provisions from the ship's Comp[y] except Spirits and Servd fresh Pork Breadfruit, Yams Plantains &c in lieu.'—Harvey log, 1 May.—'This day having purchas'd among the Canoes as much fresh Pork, Breadfruit, Yams and Plantains as wou'd serve the People for the present, I stopd every Species of their Sea Provision except the Grog, and serv'd it to them, so that now we enter upon quite a new Regimen, and a most salutary one it is; tho' Thank God our last agreed with us very well, we have not a Man in the Sick List. This Forenoon I receiv'd an Order respecting the Trade and Provision from Cap[t] Cook which I immediately put in force.'—Clerke, 1 May.

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291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when [565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap 292 round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their [535] great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other 301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those [352] of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the work- [264] man ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean; they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the 352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about 519 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

[1] Tongan *malo*.

[714] [2] This head-dress, the *fou* or *faafas*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '... both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

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the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned that it is almost needless to add any thing further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food, nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning. I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a] meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women, which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are matts spread on the Ground; & a thick upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master & Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment.

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who were appointed for the purpose.

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pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders (from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tôâ tree. They are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quadrangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, sometimes with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make likenesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood (though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point. They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

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352 stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is
[285] also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in
[513] bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses
[562] in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly
[565] with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that
264 during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better
276 sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit
512 of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as
262 soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls
252 & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was
262 preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less agreeable than our Chesnuts.

252 The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven
[415] us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables
[177] on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose. They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to
262 every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 300, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption'); *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'oi*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air. Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called & laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet & touching them with her head, however there are always women in waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants. [2] *tukituki*.

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They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Captn Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *esi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

readapted rather than transformed."[25] The point is re-emphasised by Franklin who views peasant society as a "residual system" within a larger capitalist economy and points to the resilience of the peasantry.[26] Gundar Frank introduces a new dimension which, if accepted, points to a prolonged existence for peasant societies and systems. He suggests that underdevelopment in some countries is the obverse of development in others, both being part of a "single process of capitalist development".[27] The modern commentator often finds difficulty in accepting that non-western societies may not choose western forms in the final working out of their urban and rural futures but, if we accept Frank's views, the peasantry appear to have an assured future in underdeveloped countries. Franklin's observation that the peasantry shows remarkable resilience in adverse conditions typical of underdeveloped countries seems to support this. Both writers would appear to agree that the increased penetration of capitalism does not necessarily eliminate peasant systems of production—or, presumably, peasant-like attitudes within the broader society. At this point it would therefore seem appropriate to consider those reasonably well-off families living in Nuku'alofa (those living in "large wooden" houses (see Table VI)) whose paid employment makes them independent of a supplementary income from agriculture and who, for purely economic reasons, would do better by opting out of kin obligations.

How far have these urbanised and often superficially westernised families rejected activities common to others in the town? They are by definition less involved in the peasant economic system but they remain very much a part of the traditional society. All attitudes to important events in the life cycle, such as birth, the celebration of the first birthday, circumcision, courtship, marriage and death, are retained. Their attitudes towards the organisation of society, the hierarchy of king, nobles, church, family and authority generally, are also retained. The physical organisation of their houses is the same in spite of a greater abundance of western articles and furniture. It is not uncommon, for example, for beds to be used for the storage of special mats while the people sleep on the floor. In one case the adults slept on mats in a traditional fale leaving the comforts of their modern house for the convenience of others. Sleeping, eating, cooking and washing units are kept apart, kava remains an important ceremonial and social drink, the stone umú is still used, tapa and mats remain symbols of wealth and prestige and the wearing of the ta'ovala and kiekie remain as signs of the well dressed. Participation in the kautaha koko'anga is less evident but these families are keen recipients of "gifts" made by such activities. They are actively involved in the fale hiva which, in this respect, is a rallying point for established and status conscious families. The closer these people become to the apex of society, the more committed

[452 cont.]

175 764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described, 114 126 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

175 123 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading- 175 123 609 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently 175 351 184 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully [352] 123 [417] situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside. In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in 175 133 request with the natives. A walk of three [453] miles brought us to the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe, as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion, are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening, having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island. At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
354 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
175 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
609 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
171 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
252 country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
175 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
431 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
439 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
201 road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

[A] [6 October--Analyst.]

[173 cont.]

342 175 eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular, but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground, which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded 353 262 175 thirty feet, and the breadth was [174] commonly eight or nine. The inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams, which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon 519 175 them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these [352] people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Taheitians rest the head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also 342 175 observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be 609 175 intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil, and bowed their heads, saying, lelei (good), woä (friend), or some such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and taught us their names; we needed only to show them a plant of which we wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it. [431] Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

137 Niuatoputapu: in forest, top of mountains above Hihifo, alt. 100 m., Dec. 5, 1951, *Hürlimann 346.*

Frequent throughout Tonga. Philippines to Polynesia.

Tongan name: *tavahi.*

[824 313 278] The timber is used for general construction purposes, banana shooks, and so on; the leaves, in medicines.

Family CELASTRACEAE

Genus **Gymnosporia** Wight and Arnott

Gymnosporia vitiensis (A. Gray) Seemann, Fl. Vit., 40, 1865.

Scrambling, much-branched shrub or small tree up to 4 m. tall, the twigs angled. Leaves alternate, oval, obtuse or subacute, base wedge-shaped, minutely toothed, up to 8 or 9 cm. long and 5 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, petioles up to 1 cm. long. Flowers white, about 5 mm. wide, five-parted, on slender pedicels in the axils of small, fimbriate-ciliate bracts, in terminal or axillary, paniculate clusters; fruit three-celled, red, seeds red.

Tongatapu: *Nelson.*

'Eua: *Lister;* sea-facing side of limestone cliff near summit of eastern ridge, Apr. 8, 1953, *Yuncker 15675;* forest near center of island, Apr. 6, 1953, *Yuncker 15651;* seaward terrace above village of Honuma, Mar. 26, 1953, *Yuncker 15502;* little valley on eastern ridge, plateau above Fuai, Nov. 9, 1951, *Hürlimann 189.*

Nomuka: along road encircling island between sea and inland lake, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15834.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* seaward face of limestone coastal cliff above Leimatua, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16056;* upper rim of steep seaside cliff above Ha'alaufuli, May 21, 1953, *Yuncker 16086;* sprawling on side of rocky cliff near sea below Houma village, May 22, 1953, *Yuncker 16132.*

Common and widely distributed throughout Tonga. Fiji and eastward in Polynesia to Samoa, Society Islands, and the Marquesas.

Tongan name: *olamaka.*

[824 352] The long, pliable branches are used in making chairs.

Family ICACINACEAE

Genus **Citronella** D. Don

Citronella samoensis (A. Gray) Howard, Jour. Arnold Arboretum 21: 475. 1940.

Tree with diffuse top, up to 6 m. or more tall. Leaves leathery, glossy, oval-ovate, acuminate, base acute, entire, up to 15 cm. or more long and 8 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, lateral nerves submarginally loop-connected, petioles 1-2 cm. long, canaliculate. Flowers small, in few-flowered clusters in a terminal racemose cluster up to 15 cm. long; fruit ellipsoidal, about 2-3 cm. long, black.

1 /Rhus taitensis -- Analyst/

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 *kaho* sticks are placed in position around the sides of the house and bound with *kafa*, to form a siding which is called *lu kaho*.

The door (*mataba*) of a Tongan house is made from coconut leaves plaited and tied together, and is arranged to pull up and down [352] (*bola*). The floor is made by leveling the earth on which the house stands and covering it first with dry coconut leaves, then with very [285] young coconut leaves plaited into mats. These mats are dried in the sun a few days before being used.

342 343 There are three types of Tongan houses: the dwelling house (*fale nofoaga*); the store house in which all food is kept (*fale felcoko*), and the kitchen or cooking house (*fale beito*).

BUILDING THE CANOE

396 The Tongans make their canoes from any one of several trees: the *buko vili*, the *tavahi*, the *toi*, the *bibi*, the *gatae*, the *fotulona*, and the *vi*. A large tree of one of these species is cut down, shaped, and the center scooped out. The outrigger (*hama*) is then made from the wood of the *tou* tree, and the outrigger sticks from the wood of the *bibi* tree (*bibi fai lolo*). The joins are made from the *tutu uli*, and the *hama* bound with *kafa* which is made from coconut husk fiber. Finally, the paddles are made, a large coconut shell provided as a bailer, and the canoe is ready for the sea.

501 The ordinary canoe is termed *babao* and the seagoing canoe *kalia*.

NATIVE METHODS OF FISHING

226 Diving (*ukuuku*). The diver, equipped with a one-pronged spear, dives down beside the coral reefs and hunts for fish that may be hidden in the caves of the reef. Sometimes the native divers secure rock cod, sharks, and other fish nearly as large as themselves.

Fish traps (*ba ika*). These are built by placing sticks in a circle, fence-fashion, leaving a gate or door into the circle. To a long creeper (*valai*), used as a rope, are attached split coconut leaves to act as wings or guides. The fish get inside these guides and follow them into the trap. The fence is erected in the tide and inspected when the tide is low.

Turtle nets (*kupega fonu*). These are made from coconut string (*kafa*), and are placed in the center of passages in the reef to trap the fish.

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

226 [286] Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

824 [481] [278] [226] [286] [342] [357] The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

824 853 [843] As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

824 [439] [314] [415] Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

824 262 [252] No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

824 [412] [287] [415] Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrowroot and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

245 824 [285] KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

/127 cont./

342
(113)

348. The illustrations in Tasman's Journal (Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery... /cited in English/ Amsterdam 1898; the pictures following the 23rd and 25th January 1643) show houses which do not seem to be storage huts and have (apparently plaited reed) walls which are interrupted only by door openings. These illustrations are in contrast to the data in the rest of the sources (mentioned above).

342 The inside of the dwelling was generally one large room. The floor,
352 which was raised about a foot, was beaten hard and covered with
[824] dried leaves and grasses on which lay coconut palm leaves. Strong mats plaited of reed and curved semicircularly were set up inside
342 the room to divide it up. The dwellings of commoners (on the plan-
565 tations) were of the same construction, but most probably smaller
184 and simpler (for example, always covered with coconut palm leaves and without the lowerable mat curtains). Besides the dwellings, there were
344 also rather large meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs, storage
343 houses (with walls that slanted inward toward the floor), cook huts, and boat houses.

342 In ancient Tonga, house construction had a certain uniformity,
178 with each house built for a special purpose corresponding in its basic elements to every other one that served the same purpose, whereas today, as a result of the aforementioned changes, there is a
[177] diversity of types to be seen. Dwellings may be subdivided chiefly into the ancient Tonga form (long house with rounded, narrow sides) and the types resembling European construction (rectangular or also square houses that often have a veranda). Different kinds of building material result in a number of further variations. These, as well as the proportion of the different types, may be seen in the following survey conducted in six villages of the Archipelago.

/133 cont./

342 177 178 184

	up to 6m. length & 5m. width	up to 8m. length & 5m. width	up to 10m. length & 7.5m. width	up to 11m. length & 9m. width	over 11m. length & 9m. width
'Uiha.....	5	7	10	9	2
Fungamisi.	8	2	7	3	8 (357)

357. Some of these houses belong to half-castes (Tongan mother - European father).

The average size of a rectangular house is 8.2 meters long and 6.2 meters wide in 'Uiha, and 8.9 meters long and 6.6 meters wide in Fungamisi. (358)

358. Calculated from the individual measurements.

342 178 565 184 Thus the average size of today's Tongan dwelling (for commoners and chiefs) is smaller than that of the ancient Tongan chief's dwelling, which Cook gives as 30 feet long and 20 feet wide; however, it probably corresponds to the measurements of the ancient Tongan dwellings of commoners and may, in part, exceed them. (359)

359. Especially the "low, very small huts" observed by Cook (J. Cook, Beschreibung... /Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. 285); these were most probably the lodgings of commoners acting as servants and living on the properties of chiefs.

342 352 178 (324) The interior of Tongan dwellings has also changed. In the long houses with rounded narrow sides the house still resembles the ancient Tongan model. The floor is covered with dried coconut-palm leaves and grasses (or now simply with sand) and over this are spread mats (takapau) (360)

360. These are already mentioned by Mariner for ancient Tonga (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

342 178 plaited of young coconut-palm leaves. However, in many cases the

/144 cont./

331 342 house is now already occupied.

[461] This house building took 29 work days. After a forced pause of several weeks to procure further building material from distant Nuku'alofa, the work will soon be finished.

331 342 In this way, European tools (or parts of tools) and material, as well as European building methods have found their way into 177 Tongans to build a house has not been displaced by this specialization. 178 In fact, division of labor among the workers in building a house and their compensation seems little changed. This persistence is also evident in the way the Tongans largely retain their ancient building methods.

b) Household Equipment

177 European influences have brought about enrichment and change in the field of household equipment.

352 /145/ The ancient Tongan furnishings of a dwelling consisted 415 essentially of seat mats, sleep mats, headrests, baskets of various 354 kinds and sizes (to hold clothing, combs, fish hooks, tools, etc.), bottle gourds, wooden bowls, lamps (burning coconut oil) and the all important and typical multi-footed, large kava bowl. (376)

376. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ I. pp. 95, 96, 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 329; V. pp. 139, 148; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative... /cited in English/ III. pp. 15, 16.

177 As a result of contact with whites the Tongans adopted various European household articles which seemed to them either more useful than corresponding ones of their own, or particularly "representative." In this way, what to the European eye seemed like the "emptiness" of the Tongan house was to some extent filled.

[352] Today, the inside of a dwelling looks somewhat as follows:

/145 cont./

177 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves, lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters; construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
177 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
352 house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
354 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
415 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
177 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain (sometimes
352 also with a board wall). (378)
353
177

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground plan it /the bed/ is usually located in one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.
353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
177 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824) 379. The mats are made from leaves of various pandanus species; their size varies from

513
285
[352] /145 cont./
(824)

about 1.10 x 1.30 meters to about 1.70 x 2.60 meters. For their construction see pp. 305 ff.

However, people often sleep on a single mat. There are no specific data on /146/ the sleep mats used in ancient Tonga. It is to be [565] assumed that commoners slept on simpler mats than did the nobles. [178] Very probably the mats are in general plaited more crudely now than [531] in the old days (380)

380. For example, there are no longer any sleep mats of the quality of the old Tongan mat No. Oz. /oceania?/ 141 (Cook Collection) in the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Gottingen.

and the lo taha and fala tofua, in contrast to the fala paonga which is always in natural color (brown), are decorated not only with the traditional black plaited pattern, (381)

[386] 381. Dyed black with leaf strips buried in the mud of a bog for two or three days and boiled with manaui leaves.

but also with European colored woolen threads knotted on the borders. 513 Some Tongans spread a European white sheet over their sleep mats; but [177] only a few cover themselves with these or with wool blankets. The majority still use (especially on cooler nights) the traditional bast-fabric sleep covers. (382)

382. Perhaps these are today used more by commoners than in the past.

513 The ancient headrests, however, are gradually falling into disuse. One 352 still finds them used by a few older men and women. Some own the 178 typical Tongan headrests (hahapo) made from one piece, very few have the four-footed headrests (kali), the legs of which are fastened to the headrest in pairs with coconut-fiber cords; more commonly used than these beautiful old types (383)

513 /146 cont./
352
178

383. These are no longer made in Tonga and are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps
513 of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today
178 sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their
177 heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made
352 themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)
177

384. Depending on the location of the settlement (village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron
[283] bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are,
[513] however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one
751 sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p. 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in
[531] the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/
[237] artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)
[178]

386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283; also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long
285 time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf
531 strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf ribs) (387)

531 /147 cont./
285

387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

[386]

388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed
285 with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being
178 plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.--
415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In
[177] addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses,
353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro-
352 vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little
177 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses, though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However,
[556] the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the
[574] symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

/147 cont./

352 177 (556) (574) personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.

Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-
415 178 footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place in most houses, as in the old days (391)

391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

422 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are
412 824 cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (tau fale) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord
354 178 177 and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have, however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather
392 177 178 widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is often produced in the old way, (392)

392. On the long side of a trunk of Hibiscus tiliaceus (tolonga) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (kaunatu) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

415 177 178 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.

000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and

/149 cont./

415 177 have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal pots and kettles.
412 178 Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the
262 178 whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

415 412 177 [264] 415 177 Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks, and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and European refreshing drinks.

177 352 405 534 428 177 178 516 The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos, of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue to sit crosslegged on the floor.

177 178 Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings (seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets, lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at present disappearing, and that many European objects have been adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

824 /162 cont./
178
[372]
[752]
[524]

(old); serves to deep fire smoldering (old); as fuel (old). "Towel" (old), "toilet paper" (old) and to clean shoes (new): the fibers are also used to press out the grated coconut meat (old); the juice of green, warmed husks and the crumbly material between the fibers of old husks are used to treat wounds (old); used for making children's toys (sailboats) (new?).

[352]
[285]
[372]

5. The palm leaves (lou niu): used, as is, to sit on in the bush (old); used to make floor mats (takatapu) (old), fans (old), baskets (old), hats (for example, helemeti and tata faka-polis) (new); needed to make house walls and roofing (old); used in dry form as fuel (old).

[285]
[287]
[412]

6. The center rib of the leaflets (tu'a niu): used in plaiting baskets (old) and fans (old) and in making tapa stencils (see p. 328); used in making brooms (old).

/163/
[482]
[372]

7. The leaf stems (tome): used as carrying sticks (see p. 250) (old); in dry state as fuel (old); also used to keep fire going (smoldering leaf stem wound with tapa) (old).

[287]
[415]

8. The bast fiber at the base of the leaf stem (kaka 'i niu): used to make tapa stencils (under side) (old) and as a bag for squeezing medicines and food (old).

[313]

9. The wood or the trunk (sino oe niu): used to make rafters and roof laths (old); used as posts and beams in houses (old?), as single posts on the plantations and for palisades (old).

[278]

10. The bark (kili oe niu): used to make medicines (for stomach pains) (old).

[227]
[278]

11. The roots (aka oe niu): used to plait fish baskets (traps, finaki) (old) and to make cuttle fish hooks (tailpiece) (old); the juice of roots serves as medicine for abdominal pains and headaches (old).

it maybe designated as the most useful plant of the /163/ Tonga Islands.

245 Cook reports that he came across coconut palms on Tongatapu "in astonishing numbers." (427)

427. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237.

/205 cont./

285

1. Floor Mats

takapau:

[352] In every dwelling built in ancient Tongan style, the floor (sand) is covered with these mats. They are approximately 1.50 x 0.50 meters in size.

[824] Women make the takapau from the young leaves of the coconut palm by tearing off on either side of the palm leaves part of the midrib with the pinnate leaflets hanging on it; then they interweave four of such "leaflet rows" into a mat (consisting of two joined halves).

The mats are dried in the sun and may be used for about four or five years.

2. Seat Mats

papa:

[574] These are rolled up and stored in the dwelling and on special occasions (for example, visitors) they are spread out on the takapau (in a European-type house on the wooden floor); however, even on ordinary days the natives often sit on them. They are about 2.60 x 0.75 meters in size. Seat mats for one person (papa nofo'anga tokotaha) are today used now and then for meetings (fono), choir practice and in some churches.

[824] The papa are made from the pandanus species, lou paongo. The natives cut its leaves, keep them in a shady spot until they are brown, then remove the thorny edges, cut the midrib, divide the leaves along these and roll the halved leaves into rather large bundles (up to about 100 halved leaves) which they store (hanging) in the house. Before plaiting they make them soft and pliable [412] by stroking them with a shell or, for example, with the bowl of a broken European tablespoon; with a shell splinter or a piece of tin

/30 cont./

285 species (see papa).

fala paongo:

[513] This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and [352] when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua [431] is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to [764] rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x 1.20 meters.

[824] The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species; these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much [531] narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

[513] This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost [431] layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse [585] is laid to rest on it. [764]

[824] Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

285 291 ta'o-vala tofua:

This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size. [554] /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

[824] and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/253 cont./

795 the Catholic church, and that conversely Catholics do the same, that
578 members of the Free Wesleyan Church actively help one of the dissenting churches build their church (as happened on Nomuka, for example, in 1951/52) and that Wesleyans send their children to Catholic schools (and vice versa). The Tongans are, after all, too even-tempered to let serious inner conflicts arise just because each of the seven
795 churches regards its doctrine to be the only true one. They belong
794 to a church and give themselves more or less to its services and find
791 inner contentment therein. And if they do not find this, if for some reason they are dissatisfied and learn of the very convincing doctrine of another church, they will simply change over. However, such transfers are not frequent enough to cause a continuing turnover amongst the membership of the individual church communities.

346 In an average Tongan village there are perhaps three or four
179 (five) churches. They are either simple structures shaped like larger dwellings of ancient Tonga style, roofed over and covered with interwoven halved coconut palm leaves (pola) or provided with board walls, glass windows and corrugated iron roofs, or they are simple European-type rectangular frame houses (with corrugated iron roofs) or, in rare cases, buildings resembling European churches, made of coral limstone, sand and cement, or of reinforced concrete with a regular church steeple. (676)

676. The Catholic church of Pangai/Lifuka, for example, was built in the 20s of this century in the style of a French village church, and even has a steeple clock. The Catholic church of Fungamisi/Vava'u, built in 1946 of reinforced concrete, has a steeple 16 meters high. In 1952 the Wesleyans completed the largest church building of the Archipelago in Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), a modern-style reinforced concrete construction which is huge by their standards.

346 The interiors of the Wesleyan churches vary from simple seat mats on
352

/253 cont./

346 the floor and a small wooden table for the preacher, to complete
352 furnishings, with a pulpit and benches. In the Catholic churches /254/ and chapels one finds altars and the customary decor.

797 Only a few white missionaries are still working on the islands.
793 In general, the Tongans carry on the work begun by Europeans, and
794 conduct the services themselves. The individual Wesleyan congregations are headed by native clergymen and, in accordance with the character of the Methodist church, they are assisted by a number of lay preachers. In the Catholic churches of the Archipelago a bishop and several priests officiate, but on the smaller islands native catechists have taken over their work, provided they are authorized to do so according to the organization of the Catholic church. Tongans also head some of the Mormon congregations.

796 The number of church services is relatively large. The Wesleyans generally go to church six times a week: Mondays at 17 o'clock, Wednesdays at 5 (6) o'clock, Fridays at 17 o'clock and Sundays at
[533] 5 (6), 9 and 15 o'clock. (In addition there are often rehearsals of
[794] the quite large church choirs on two or three evenings a week.) In the Catholic churches the morning masses are read every day, and at 18 o'clock the evening prayer service is held; in addition, on Sundays there is high mass at 8 o'clock and the benediction at 16 o'clock.

796 Attendance at the services is very active; most Wesleyan Tongans,
794 for example, scarcely miss one of them; (677)

[578] 677. In the villages, however, there are some who, for various reasons (for example, because they have an antipathy to the priest) stay away from services for years.

they willingly get up early for them and cease their plantation work in time so that they will not be late for church. (678)

678. On the subject of punctuality at church services see p. 33-34.

/276 cont./

872 the Tongan language and takes place on all the inhabited islands of the Archipelago, from Monday to Friday, from 8 to 13 o'clock. Vacations are in June (about four weeks) and from mid-December to the end of January. Half-yearly examinations are held and grades given out.

[875] The teachers who teach the mixed classes of boys and girls are mostly Tongans; only six schools have white teachers. Schoolbooks are mostly the property of the teachers. The children are taught with the help of blackboards and have notebooks, pens and ink. The schoolhouses, [346] [177] most of which are built of wood in European style (with corrugated iron roofs), are partly in bad repair. While the children of the lower grades 872 sit on the floor in Tongan fashion, the intermediate and upper classes 875 are in part provided with school benches--A certain drawback in this [516] [352] elementary school teaching is the much too small number of male and female teachers. Moreover, the teachers do not all have the necessary [191] knowledge; some of them teach English, for example, and are themselves unable to speak English fluently.

873 Two of theintermediate schools /cited in English/ run by the Free Wesleyan Church are attended only by girls (between the ages of 11 and 18) who therewith complete their schooling or go on to college. The subjects [875] of the primary schools are here developed further. The teaching staff consists of white and Tongan teachers.

There are ten "secondary schools" /cited in English/ (colleges) in the Tonga Archipelago, one run by the government, four by the Wesleyan Mission, two by the Roman Catholic Church and one each by the Mormon Mission, the Anglican Church and the Adventist Mission. The male and female pupils are aged 11 to 18 (21) and attend the colleges for about five years. In 1950 (754)

754. See Report of the Department of Education...p. 3.

there were 1650 boys and girls (commoners as well as nobles) at these educational institutions. Most of them are boarding schools to which

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
CU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

what at first we took to be a canoe, about 5 feet in length and 18 inches deep; this was the "lali," or great drum of the town, which was beaten to call the people together on important occasions. The old chief, seeing our curiosity excited about it, took up the sticks, two pieces of wood about 18 inches long, and began to beat it most vigorously, smiling all the time and nodding his head as though he were giving us quite a musical treat, becoming so energetic that we were afraid he would bring the whole place to see what the matter was. It was struck on the edge, one side being much worn away from continual beating. Although the sound, when standing near the drum, did not appear to be very loud, it could be heard distinctly for a considerable distance.

From the Governor's we went to the hill above the anchorage, where the Meander's band was coming to play in the afternoon. On the road we were passed by crowds of natives hurrying to the spot. As the band had not yet arrived we went to look at the inside of the church, which is a very perfect specimen of the native style of building; the floor was about 130 feet long by 44 feet wide; the roof being about 35 feet high in the middle, oval shaped and very deep. There were no windows, the light coming in from the openings in the sides, which served as entrances. The roof was placed upon a frame of very large spars, secured where they crossed each other by strong lashings, and supported by posts below. The whole floor was matted and without division of any kind, excepting a low rail before the pulpit. This church was built for the missionaries by King George in a very short time, upwards of a thousand people being employed in its erection.

While I was making a sketch from the hill, a young man came to me, and said he had a fine canoe to sell, and wished very much that I would go home with him to look at it, saying, in English, "Mine is a very good canoe; supposing you want it, I make the sail to-night;" and then, admiringly, as though he were looking at it, "O it is a beautiful canoe." Being rather more anxious about the sketch than his canoe, I did not pay much attention to what he was saying; and he continued to stand at my elbow, apparently watching every touch of the pencil very intently. Imagining that he was interested in the proceeding, I stopped, and held the book up for him to look at; but the canoe was all he was thinking about, and eagerly seizing the opportunity to direct my attention to his hut, among the cocoa-nut trees just below, he came again to the point, saying, persuasively, "Do come to the canoe;" and looking much disappointed when I said I could not then spare the time, he continued, in a resigned tone, "Well, you have the canoe; I make sail to-night," mentioning the sum of five dollars as the price of it. This latter idea put a stop to any further negotiation on the matter as far as I was con-